CHAPTER 6 Nationalism and Ultranationalism

Figure 6-1 The map shows the Soviet Union in 1938, just before World War II started. The poster, which was created by the government of the Soviet Union, shows dictator Joseph Stalin with Azerbaijanis, one of the many peoples who were part of the country. The slogan — in Azerbaijani — urges people to support the Soviet Union's new constitution. Stalin controlled the Soviet Union from the late 1920s until his death in 1953.

CHAPTER ISSUE

To what extent can nationalism lead to ultranationalism?

THE POSTER ON THE PREVIOUS PAGE shows Premier Joseph Stalin and the people of Azerbaijan, which was part of the vast Soviet Union. The Soviet Union included the present-day country of Azerbaijan, as well as Russia, Ukraine, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Armenia. Though the poster depicts Stalin as a kindly figure, the reality was very different. Under Stalin's rule, between 20 and 60 million people were executed or died in state-created famines, forced-labour camps, and deportations.

For a quarter-century, Stalin controlled the Communist Party — and the Soviet Union. Stalin decided on the country's national interests and set domestic and foreign policies — and forced people to focus their national loyalty on him.

Examine the poster and map, then respond to the following questions:

- How did the artist portray Stalin in the poster?
- What purposes are served by the other figures in the poster?
- What is the poster's underlying message? Why would conveying this message be important in a dictatorship?
- After examining the map, what conclusions can you draw about the peoples who were included in the Soviet Union?
- What difficulties might a dictator experience when trying to control a vast country that contains people of so many different backgrounds?

KEY TERMS

ultranationalism

propaganda

appeasement

conscription

LOOKING AHEAD

In this chapter, you will develop responses to the following questions as you explore the extent to which nationalism can lead to ultranationalism:

- What is ultranationalism?
- How does ultranationalism develop?
- How have people responded to ultranationalism?

My Journal on Nationalism

Look back at the notes you recorded at the beginning of Chapter 5. Compare your current views on nationalism with those you have already recorded. Is your point of view changing? If so, how? Date your ideas and add them to the journal, notebook, learning log, portfolio, or computer file you are keeping as you progress through this course.

What is ultranationalism?

Some people believe that nationalism is the most powerful political force in the world — even when they do not agree on exactly what nationalism is. In *Jihad vs. McWorld: Terrorism's Challenge to Democracy*, Benjamin Barber highlighted this disagreement when he wrote: "There is old nationalism and new nationalism, good nationalism and bad nationalism, civic nationalism and ethnic nationalism, nationalism as the forge of great states and nationalism as their coffin . . . the nationalism of the liberal nation-state and the nationalism of . . . parochial politics and tribalism."

CheckBack

You read about various understandings of nationalism in the prologue and Chapter 1.

People also disagree on when nationalism becomes **ultranationalism**, an extreme form of nationalism. At some point, ultranationalists move from valuing their own nation and its interests to hostility toward people of other nations. This hostility can endanger international peace.

People may agree that ultranationalism includes elements of racism and fanaticism and that it can lead to conflicts, but they do not always draw the line between nationalism and ultranationalism in the same place. Whether people label a belief or policy nationalistic or ultranationalistic sometimes depends on the nation they belong to. Some might view the actions of people in their own group as patriotic, while claiming that similar actions by other peoples are ultranationalistic. Building a strong military, for example, may be viewed as nationalistic in one country — but ultranationalistic in another.

Figure 6-2 When the killers of Hrant Dink went on trial, many Turks gathered outside the courthouse. They carried signs saying, "We are all Hrant Dink" and "We are all Armenians." What collective idea were they expressing?

Ultranationalism may be associated with a fanatical belief in the rights of your own group and a fear and loathing of anyone who challenges those beliefs. In January 2007, for example, Hrant Dink, a Turkish journalist who was also a member of Turkey's Armenian minority, was murdered. The teenager accused of the murder was thought to belong to a Turkish nationalist group.

Dink had angered some nationalists in his country by writing about the massacre of hundreds of thousands of Armenians by Turks in 1915, under cover of World War I. Because of his writing, the journalist had been convicted in 2006 of publicly insulting "Turkishness, the Republic or the Grand National Assembly of Turkey" and had received a six-month suspended sentence.

Dink's conviction and murder sparked heated debate in Turkey about free speech, ethnic tensions, and extreme nationalism. Would you describe Dink's murder as an act of ultranationalism? Does discussing this issue help you decide where to draw the line between nationalism and ultranationalism? Explain your response.

Russian Ultranationalism

Some people believe that drastic economic and social changes that result in unemployment and poverty can spark extreme nationalism. In these circumstances, people's interest in personal security, economic security, and the values of their own group can become all-important.

When the Soviet Union disintegrated in 1991, for example, Russia and 14 other independent republics emerged. But the transition was difficult, and insecurity about the future bred hatred of people who were different, especially immigrants and asylum seekers. In 2006, Alexander Verkhovsky of Moscow's SOVA Centre for Information and Analysis — a non-governmental organization that monitors racist violence in Russia — said, "Most of our population supports the idea of 'Russia for Russians,' which means for ethnic Russians, not for Russian citizens."

[In a crisis] people come to believe that they want security at any cost and that human rights, the broad range of human rights — equality, social and economic rights, all civil liberties and freedoms — are a luxury that will come after security is ensured, which of course is a very big mistake.

— Louise Arbour, UN high commissioner for human rights, on the resurgence of the Taliban in Afghanistan, 2007

Russia under Stalin

At the beginning of the 20th century, Russia was an absolute monarchy. The Russian Revolution in 1918 resulted in the assassination of the czar and royal family and launched a civil war that brought even more suffering to millions of people who had already endured great hardship during World War I.

By 1928, Joseph Stalin, a communist, had emerged as the country's leader. One of Stalin's first acts was to confiscate land owned by farmers and create collective farms owned by the state. Those who objected were executed, and an estimated five million people were deported to forced-labour camps in Siberia or Central Asia.

Stalin wanted to replace the loyalties of the 100 distinct national groups in the Soviet Union with Soviet nationalism. Any group that objected was persecuted as a "criminal nation." According to Nobel Prize–winning Russian author Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Stalin's system of forced national deportations "would fasten its pitiless talons on any nation pointed out to it."

The treatment of Ukrainians was especially brutal. When Ukrainian farmers refused to give up their land, Stalin confiscated their crops. As a result, up to 10 million Ukrainians starved to death in the 1930s. Stalin also outlawed the use of the Ukrainian language in public. Ukrainians were the largest group of political prisoners in the forced-labour camps.

Stalin also rid the Communist Party of anyone accused of being an "enemy of the people." Thousands of Russians were executed, and millions more were sent to slave-labour camps. Included among the exiles were a man who took down a portrait of Stalin to paint a wall, and Ukrainian artist Nikolai Getman, who was in a café when another artist drew a cartoon of Stalin.

Why might establishing democracy in a country without a tradition of democratic government be difficult?

Figure 6-3 This lithograph, which was created by the French artist Gignoux in 1931, is titled *The Siberian Gulag*. "Gulag" is an acronym that comes from the Russian words for "administration of corrective labour camps."

Propaganda and Ultranationalism

Propaganda refers to information and ideas that are spread to achieve a specific goal. The information and ideas are often misleading and dishonest. Extreme nationalists use propaganda to manipulate strong human emotions — especially fear and insecurity — and persuade people to behave in certain ways. Propagandists often

- call their opponents names (e.g., "terrorists," "fanatics") designed to arouse people's anger and fears
- play down their own failures and defeats or use words that hide the true meaning of their actions (e.g., calling their own wars "holy" or "just," or referring to death camps as "concentration camps")
- use respected symbols to appeal to people's values and beliefs (e.g., religious symbols, family images, or a national flag)
- appeal to people's fears when trying to persuade them to support particular actions (e.g., claiming that strict law and order is the only way to ensure peace and save a nation)

Figure 6-4 In this 1938 photograph, German children read an anti-Jewish book titled *The Poisonous Mushroom*. Joseph Goebbels said, "The foundations must be laid early in life. Following the Führer's teaching, we are setting a new ideal for the education of our youth."

The poster of Stalin that opens this chapter is an example of Soviet propaganda. At the same time as millions of people were being sent to forced-labour camps, Stalin's propagandists were creating posters, slogans, songs, speeches, newspaper articles, and banners glorifying extreme nationalism and presenting Stalin as a caring father of the Soviet peoples.

In Germany, the Nazis used newspapers, radio, and film to promote extreme nationalism. Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's minister for public enlightenment and propaganda, established a huge propaganda organization that controlled all forms of the media. Goebbels was a gifted speaker who consistently preached the supremacy of the German people and hatred for Jews, whom he called the incarnation of evil.

Figure 6-5 German troops force Jewish women and children out of a house in Warsaw, Poland. People in the Warsaw ghetto had tried to resist German efforts to deport them to death camps, where six million Jews were murdered. How do you think the propaganda shown in the photograph in Figure 6-4 might have influenced the treatment of Jewish people in this photograph?

Reflect and Respond

Propaganda often inflames people's prejudices and feeds on emotions such as fear, guilt, and patriotism. List three criteria you could use to decide whether a government message provides important information required by citizens or is propaganda designed to sway public opinion.

How does ultranationalism develop?

Various factors and events often combine to transform nationalism into ultranationalism. Among these are social and economic crises, the emergence of a charismatic authoritarian leader, and national traditions and myths that promote feelings of superiority.

Countries in Crisis

The Great Depression of the 1930s provided fertile ground for the growth of extreme nationalism. Around the world, people suffered economic losses that affected the pursuit of their national interests.

On October 29, 1929, share prices on the New York Stock Exchange dropped drastically. This sudden crash caused economic turmoil in many countries. People lost their savings as banks suddenly closed. Unemployment rose as companies laid off workers. Governments had a hard time taking care of the needs of citizens who had no work and no money to buy food or pay for a place to live.

Germany after World War I

After the end of World War I, Germany became a republic. Men and women had the right to vote for members of the new parliament. But during the 1920s, no political party won enough votes to run a successful government.

When the Great Depression started in 1929, it hit Germany especially hard. The country was still struggling to recover from the war, trying to pay reparations and make up for the loss of colonies that had been taken away by the victorious Allies. Germany was also deeply in debt to the United States, which had lent the government money to help rebuild the country.

In the early 1920s, Germany suffered through a period of extreme inflation — rising prices and a sharp drop in the buying power of money. German money became almost worthless while prices increased more than 100 times. In the 1930s, German prosperity depended on trade with other countries. But to try to protect their own industries during the Depression, many of those countries stopped importing German goods. As a result, German industries laid off workers. The standard of living of many Germans was destroyed, and many people faced homelessness and starvation.

As economic conditions grew worse, some Germans began to look for a strong leader who could fix the country, and Adolf Hitler's National Socialist German Workers' Party — the Nazi Party — started to gain support. After many failed attempts, Hitler was elected to lead Germany in 1933.

Once in power, Hitler dissolved the parliament and declared the start of the Nazi Reich, or empire, with himself as dictator. The state ruled in all matters: economic, social, political, military, and cultural. Freedom of the press and freedom of assembly were suspended, and postal, telegraph, and telephone communications were no longer private.

Web Connection

To find out more about the Great Depression, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

FYI

To try to pay the war reparations demanded by the Treaty of Versailles, the German government printed huge amounts of money. As a result, the mark — Germany's money — became almost worthless. In 1918, a loaf of bread cost two marks. By 1924, this price had risen to six million marks. People struggled to survive.

Figure 6-6 The son of a powerful Nazi official gives the Nazi salute. Like other dictators, Adolf Hitler demanded that people obey him without question — and children were indoctrinated early. Why would indoctrinating children be important in a dictatorship?

Assessing the Validity of Information

FOCUS ON SKILLS

During crises such as economic depressions and war, people often face hard times. When a country's national interests demand that its citizens sacrifice their quality of life and even life itself, leaders often appeal to people's feelings of nationalism, patriotism, and national identity. Both Joseph Goebbels, Nazi Germany's minister for public enlightenment and propaganda, and Winston Churchill, the British prime minister during World War II, used radio — the mass medium of the day — to broadcast inspiring, nationalistic messages to the public. Excerpts from their speeches appear on the following page.

To judge the validity of the information in speeches like these, you must analyze the historical context of the speech and assess the speaker's degree of bias and objectivity. The following steps can help you do this.

Steps to Assessing the Validity of Information

Step 1: Review your previous knowledge

When assessing the validity of new information, start with what you already know. Work with a partner to jot down points in response to the following questions:

- What do you know about nationalism during the Great Depression and World War II?
- What do you know about attitudes toward nationalism and national identity at that time?
- What experiences have been related to you by family and friends?
- What is your own experience of how people pursue their national interest during times of crisis?

Step 2: Practise applying assessment criteria

With your partner, examine the questions in the checklist on this page. Discuss how each question could help you assess the validity of the information included in the two speeches.

On a sheet of paper, in your notebook, or in a computer file, create two copies of the checklist. Then, with your partner, read the excerpts from the speeches of Joseph Goebbels and Winston Churchill. Complete one checklist for each excerpt. To answer some questions, you may need to conduct additional research.

When you have completed both checklists, rate the overall validity of the information in each speech. You may wish to use a rating scale of 1 to 5 (1 = not very valid; 5 = highly valid).

Step 3: Discuss your assessment with other students

When you finish, discuss your assessment with another pair. Be on the lookout for new insights into assessing the validity of the information in these speeches. If necessary, revise your own responses as you deepen your understanding.

You might also wish to discuss the effectiveness of each speech in achieving its purpose.

Validity of Information Checklist

Information Source _____

Criterion	Question	Response
Reliability	Who is the author?	
	Why did the author write this piece?	
	Has the author written other material on this subject?	
	What is the author's reputation for reliability?	
Context	When and where was the piece written?	
	Who is the target audience?	
	What medium was used to deliver the message?	
	What effect might the choice of medium have on the target audience?	
Bias	What are the author's main arguments or interpretations?	
	What preferences or dislikes does the author express? Provide at least one example.	
	What persuasive or propaganda techniques does the author use? Provide at least one example.	
	What powerful words and phrases does the author use? Are they used in a positive or negative manner?	
Objectivity	What is the purpose of the message?	
	Is the information based on fact, or does the message appeal mainly to emotions?	
	Is the language of the piece objective or emotionally charged?	
	Does the piece present alternative points of view and perspectives?	
Evidence	What evidence does the author present to support the arguments?	
	Can the evidence be checked against other accounts?	
	Does the author overgeneralize, stereotype, or exaggerate?	
	Are relevant facts left out?	

Joseph Goebbels, minister for public enlightenment and propaganda in Nazi Germany, gave a speech honouring Adolf Hitler's forthcoming 50th birthday. Goebbels spoke in April 1939, a few months before the beginning of World War II.

In an unsettled and confused world, Germany tomorrow celebrates a national holiday in the truest sense of the word. It is a holiday for the entire nation. The German people celebrate the day entirely as a matter of the heart, not of the understanding.

Tomorrow the Führer finishes his 50th year. The entire German nation takes pride in this day, a pride in which those peoples who are friendly with us also take deep and hearty part. Even those who are neutral or oppose us cannot ignore the strong impact of the events. Adolf Hitler's name is a political program for the entire world. He is almost a legend. His name is a dividing line. No one on earth can remain indifferent to his name. For some, he represents hope, faith, and the future; for others, he is an exemplar of confused hatred, base lies, and cowardly slander.

The highest that a person can achieve is to give his name to an historical era, to stamp his personality indelibly on his age. Certainly the Führer has done that. One cannot imagine today's world without him . . .

Adolf Hitler has influenced not only the historical development of his country, but one can say without fear of exaggeration that he has given all of European history a new direction, that he is the towering guarantee of a new order for Europe.

The German people know that the Führer has restored [Germany] to its rightful position in the world. The Reich stands in the shadow of the German sword. Germany's economy, culture, and popular life are blooming under a security guaranteed by the army. The nation, once sunk into impotence, has risen to new greatness.

Nearly two years after the beginning of World War II, British prime minister **Winston Churchill** gave the following speech to Allied representatives, who were meeting in London, England.

What tragedies, what horrors, what crimes has Hitler and all that Hitler stands for brought upon Europe and the world! The ruins of Warsaw, of Rotterdam, of Belgrade are monuments which will long recall to future generations the outrage of unopposed air bombing applied with calculated scientific cruelty to helpless populations . . .

But far worse than these visible injuries is the misery of the conquered peoples. We see them hounded, terrorized, exploited. Their manhood by the million is forced to work under conditions indistinguishable in many cases from actual slavery. Their goods and chattels are pillaged or filched for worthless money. Their homes, their daily life are pried into and spied upon by the all-pervading system of secret political police which, having reduced the Germans themselves to abject docility, now stalks the streets and byways of a dozen lands. Their religious faiths are affronted, persecuted or oppressed in the interest of a fanatic paganism devised to perpetuate the worship and sustain the tyranny of one abominable creature. Their traditions, their culture, their laws, their institutions, social and political alike, are suppressed by force or undermined by subtle, coldly planned intrigue . . .

Hitler may turn and trample this way and that through tortured Europe. He may spread his course far and wide and carry his curse with him. He may break into Africa or into Asia. But it is here, in this island fortress, that he will have to reckon in the end. We shall strive to resist by land and sea . . . With the help of God, of which we must all feel daily conscious, we shall continue steadfast in faith and duty till our task is done.

Summing Up

As you progress through this course, you will often need to assess the validity of information by analyzing and evaluating reliability, context, bias, objectivity, and evidence. The politicians, critics, writers, speakers, artists, and photographers you will encounter will have various points of view and perspectives on the meaning of nationalism and on how national interest should be pursued in various circumstances.

Figure 6-7 Hirohito became the emperor of Japan when his father died in 1926. Hirohito was worshipped as *arahitogami*, a god who is human. How might the idea of the emperor as a demigod — a being who is partly divine — feed into the development of ultranationalism?

Japan after World War I

During World War I, Japan supported the Allies, and after the war, Japanese exports to Europe and the United States increased. But when the Great Depression started, these trading partners tried to support their own industries by limiting imports and Japanese people lost their jobs. Then, in 1932, a massive failure of the rice crop caused famine throughout the country.

Japanese ultranationalists blamed the country's politicians for the economic crisis. They were further enraged when the United States, Canada, and Australia shut out Japanese immigrants. To try to obtain raw materials and markets for Japanese products, Japan invaded Manchuria, in northeastern China, in 1931.

By 1937, the military controlled the Japanese government and Japan was at war with China. Military leaders brought back traditional warrior values, such as obedience to the emperor and the state, and created a cult around the emperor, Hirohito.

Taking Turns

How might a crisis affect people's sense of nationalism and national identity?

The students responding to this question are Pearl, who lives in St. Albert and whose great-great-great grandfather immigrated from China to work on the Canadian Pacific Railway; Blair, who lives in Edmonton and whose heritage is Ukrainian, Scottish, and German; and Amanthi, who lives in Edson and whose parents immigrated from Sri Lanka.

Pearl

My great-grandfather was born in Canada, but he had family in China — and they have told him what it was like when Japan invaded. China was in such chaos that he didn't hear from some of his relatives for years. Sometimes he worried that they had all been killed. He told me that people were really scared, and yeah, some people betrayed their friends and neighbours to get on the good side of the Japanese. But lots of people didn't. People helped one another whenever they could. Even strangers. So in some ways, the hardships drew people together — and deepened their sense of Chinese national identity.

The way my great-uncle Dmytro tells it, what people in Ukraine went through in 1932 to '33 was caused by Stalin's fear of Ukrainians' strong nationalist loyalties — and these ties still exist, even though we're scattered in different countries. Ukrainians were resisting Stalin in the 1930s, and to force them to do what he wanted, he took the grain from the farmers. He just let them starve. That famine was definitely created by someone who hated my nation, but it sure didn't destroy it. Just the opposite.

Blair

Amanthi

I liked what Louise Arbour said about what people do in a crisis. If you didn't have food or a safe place to live, you might not be so concerned about things like equality and freedom — and even national identity. You'd have more important concerns. In some ways, just talking about national identity is a luxury that people like us here in Canada enjoy. I'll bet that if we lived in a one-party state that controlled the media, we wouldn't even hear a voice like Arbour's. If what she said wasn't what the government wanted people to hear, then her words wouldn't be broadcast in the media or put in a textbook.

Your Turn

How would you respond to the question Pearl, Blair, and Amanthi are answering? Explain the reasons for your answer.

Charismatic Leaders

During the 1920s and 1930s, ultranationalist dictators emerged in the Soviet Union, Italy, Germany, and Japan. These leaders inspired enthusiasm and devotion in their followers — and fear in anyone who questioned their leadership or policies. Opposition was squelched with deadly force.

Figure 6-8 Using powerful public address systems, careful staging, and skilful architectural design, Hitler whipped up support for his ultranationalist policies at mass rallies. This rally, which took place in Nuremberg in 1938, was for the Hitler Youth Movement. Why would Hitler consider it so important to inspire German youth to form a loyalty to him personally?

Adolf Hitler in Germany

In Germany, Adolf Hitler promised that he would restore people's national pride by making their country the leading nation on Earth. A skilled speaker who knew how to capture the attention of an audience, Hitler said he would do this by

- refusing to recognize the Treaty of Versailles
- rebuilding Germany's armed forces and reclaiming lost territories
- restoring the superiority of the "Aryan race" — white Europeans of which the Germanic and Nordic peoples were the "purest" examples

Nazi propaganda experts used radio, movies, public address systems, and giant posters to keep Hitler's image and message before the public. The Nazis issued carefully planned releases to newspapers and distributed pamphlets and flyers. Party members organized central and neighbourhood mass meetings attracting audiences of up to 100 000. At these meetings, crowds chanted, "Today Germany, tomorrow the whole world."

Hirohito and Tojo in Japan

In the years leading up to World War II, ultranationalists worked to rid Japan of democracy and to make the country a one-party state ruled by the military. Although Emperor Hirohito — the Son of Heaven — was revered, he was not involved in politics. The commanders of Japan's armed forces decided on the country's national interests and made most of the decisions that took Japan into World War II.

Military leaders, for example, made the decision to invade China and to capture territory belonging to other countries. They wanted raw materials to keep Japanese industries going, as well as markets for Japanese products. They justified this territorial expansion by saying that Japan was only doing the same thing as the United States and the colonial powers of Europe had already done. In 1941, General Tojo Hideki became prime minister and transformed Japan into a military dictatorship. An aggressive ultranationalist, Tojo promised that the country would dominate Asia through military might.

Figure 6-9 Tojo Hideki, who led Japan into World War II, served as prime minister from 1941 to 1944. Raised in a family with a long warrior tradition, Tojo had worked his way up through the ranks and believed that Japan's destiny was to dominate Asia.

SPINBUSTER

Analyzing Propaganda

Germany and the Soviet Union are not the only countries that have used propaganda to persuade citizens to act in the national interest. During World War II, the Canadian government created the Wartime Information Board to control information and inspire support for the war effort. One of the board's strategies was to create propaganda placing a positive spin on the war effort.

Figure 6-10 This World War II poster, which was produced by Canada's Wartime Information Board, was designed to appeal to Canadians' fear of their enemies. It highlighted the need to protect women and children, who were depicted as the country's most vulnerable citizens.

Figure 6-11 In September 1942, the *Montreal Gazette* published this cartoon, titled "Speaking of Sacrifice." It contrasted the sacrifices of Canadian civilians with what happened to soldiers during the disastrous raid on Dieppe, France. There, 900 Canadians were killed, more than 1000 were wounded, and 1900 were taken prisoner.

LISTS OF CANADIAN ARMY CASUALTIES
ON DIEPPE
MY TAXES ARE AWFUL
AND WAGES ARE TOO LOW
THERE'S NO PROFIT ANY MORE
AND GAS AN' TIRES!!

Steps to Analyzing Propaganda

Step 1: Examine the materials

Examine the illustrations on this page. Create a chart like the one shown on this page and use it to analyze these materials.

Step 2: Assess the effectiveness of the materials

Re-examine the materials in light of your analysis. In a small group, discuss which of the pieces

- is most persuasive. Give reasons for your choice.
- most honestly reflects the facts. Cite evidence to support your opinion.
- least honestly reflects the facts. Cite evidence to support your opinion.

Step 3: Draw conclusions

In a small group, discuss whether you would classify both pieces as propaganda. Is using propaganda justified during wartime? At other times? Justify your response.

Summing Up

You can use your spinbusting skill to detect and analyze propaganda in a variety of situations at school and in everyday life.

Analyzing Propaganda

Item (e.g., poster, radio announcement) **and Source**	**Audience** (Who is the target of the message?)	**Purpose** (What actions is the piece promoting?)	**Persuasion Techniques** (What words and images are used to persuade? What emotions does the piece appeal to?)

Instilling Ultranationalist Values

The dictatorships in the Soviet Union, Germany, Italy, and Japan promoted extreme nationalist values. Domestic and foreign policies fostered these values, and the military and police were strengthened to protect them. Education was used as a propaganda tool to instil these values in the young. Culture, art, and the media were used to serve the ultranationalists' goals and to drown out opposing voices.

Ultranationalist Values in Germany

During the 1930s, German ultranationalist propaganda often focused on the glories and nationalist values of the past. The operas of Richard Wagner glorified a mythic time of German greatness and were much in favour, while modern art and music were condemned. Books were destroyed if they did not follow the approved nationalist line.

The "master race" of German people were called on to build an empire — the Third Reich — that would last for a thousand years. For this to happen, Nazi leaders said, Germany must rid itself of anyone, such as socialists, Jews, Roma, homosexuals, and people with disabilities, who were considered "inferior" or who challenged the state's perspective.

From elementary school through university, students were taught Nazi values and shielded from ideas that challenged these values. History books were rewritten to glorify Germany's past, and in the summer of 1933, ultranationalist university students burned books as part of an "action against the un-German spirit."

The night of November 9–10, 1938, became known as *Kristallnacht* — the Night of Broken Glass. Gangs of Nazi thugs destroyed Jewish synagogues, businesses, community centres, and homes throughout Germany and Austria. They beat up Jewish people, broke windows, and desecrated cemeteries.

Soon afterwards, Hitler's government passed laws taking away the basic rights of Jewish people. They could no longer own property or businesses. Jewish children were expelled from schools and universities, and Jews could not be doctors, lawyers, or university professors. They were also forbidden to own automobiles or have a driver's licence.

More than a hundred years before Hitler came to power, the German poet and playwright Heinrich Heine had written, "Wherever they burn books, they will also, in the end, burn human beings." Why do you suppose Heine made this link? Do you think it is accurate?

Web Connection

To find out more about the Nazi persecution of the Jewish people and how this persecution led to the murder of six million Jews, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Figure 6-12 A Berlin synagogue burns on *Kristallnacht*. How did this event foreshadow what would happen to Jews under Nazi rule in Germany?

Figure 6-13 The books burned at this ceremony at a German university included works by playwright Bertolt Brecht, physicist Albert Einstein, political theorist Karl Marx, psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud, and poet and playwright Heinrich Heine. How would destroying writings like these have helped foster the growth of ultranationalism?

This fall, when the destiny of the Empire is being decided, through His Majesty's summons I have been ordered to the Tsuchiura naval aviation unit as a naval preparatory student. It is an extremely great joy and honour for our family. In life I am a defender of the divine land and through death I become a guardian spirit of the state. While my body may scatter over the skies of the South Seas like cherry blossoms, my soul eternally remains in and protects the land of our ancestors . . . During these extraordinary times for the nation, what a joy it is to be summoned as a soldier.

— Gihei Watayama Mikoto, 21, Japanese naval officer killed in action in the East China Sea, November 1944

Ultranationalist Values in Japan

Just as the Nazis promoted a return to the mythical values of Germany's past, so, too, did the military leaders who controlled Japan. Ultranationalists promoted a return to ancient values that were woven into the country's social and political fabric. Those values included worship of the emperor as a demigod and the belief that the Japanese people are superior to all others and have a mission ordained by heaven to expand beyond the borders of their country.

At the same time as foreign policy officials were assuring the world that Japan wanted peace, the ultranationalists who were gaining more and more control within the country prepared for war.

In the 1930s, Japan's educational system was based on *The Way of Subjects*, published by the Japanese education ministry. Students were taught to idealize the past, to take pride in their race and culture, and to practise duty and obedience as the highest virtues. Western books, ideas, values, and culture were scorned, and the ideals of Nazi Germany were praised. Militarism and national defence were priorities. Fanatic militarists preached a doctrine that included contempt for death, exaltation of victory, and blind obedience.

Warriors of the past and present were honoured. The national Japanese religion, Shinto, was used to unite the nation around the emperor. Shinto teaches that the souls of the dead remain in the land of their birth and that they protect the living. Today, at the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo, warriors and soldiers are remembered and worshipped as *kami*, spirits who have become gods. Many people who have died for Japan — including Tojo Hideki and others who were later executed as war criminals — are honoured there. As a result, the shrine is controversial.

Every year, hundreds of thousands of Japanese people visit the shrine. Some Japanese people want Tojo's name removed, but members of the ruling party, including Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, continue to visit the shrine to pay their respects to the *kami*.

Figure 6-14 When it became obvious that Japan was losing the war, kamikaze pilots began crashing their planes into Allied ships. These pilots are receiving headbands during a ceremony marking the launch of a suicide mission. How was the pilots' action related to ultranationalism?

Reflect and Respond

Review the events described in this section. Explain how the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin, Japan under its military leaders, and Germany under Adolf Hitler followed a similar course in the years between World War I and World War II. Link these similarities to the shift to ultranationalism in each country. You may wish to create a Venn diagram to highlight the similarities.

In your view, when did each country cross the line that separates nationalism and ultranationalism? Cite evidence to support your position.

How have people responded to ultranationalism?

Ultranationalism infects all aspects of a country's life: social, economic, political, cultural, and spiritual. Ultranationalists prey on people's fears and use propaganda to spread hatred. In countries around the world, people have found it difficult to find peaceful ways of overcoming extreme nationalist values and beliefs.

Appeasement as a Response to Ultranationalism

In the years before World War II, many people in countries that had experienced the terrible costs of World War I and the Great Depression believed that avoiding another war was one of their most important national interests. As a result, they hoped that **appeasement** — giving in to demands — was the best policy when Adolf Hitler and the Nazis began to expand Germany's territory in Europe.

Germany had been expanding its European territory since 1935. Finally, in 1938, British prime minister Neville Chamberlain, French prime minister Edouard Daladier, and Italian prime minister Benito Mussolini met Hitler to discuss Germany's recent takeover of the Sudetenland. Before World War I, Germany had controlled this region, but the Treaty of Versailles had awarded it to Czechoslovakia. In return for Hitler's promise not to expand further, Chamberlain, Daladier, and Mussolini agreed to allow the takeover to go unchallenged. In Britain, Chamberlain explained that "the peoples of the British Empire were at one with those of Germany, of France, and of Italy" in "their anxiety, their intense desire for peace."

Not everyone agreed that appeasement would work. Winston Churchill, who was at the time a member of Parliament in Chamberlain's Conservative Party, condemned the agreement, saying, "An appeaser is someone who feeds a crocodile — hoping it will eat him last." He also said Chamberlain, Daladier, and Mussolini "had to choose between war and dishonour. They chose dishonour; they will have war."

Early in 1939, Hitler took over the rest of Czechoslovakia. Churchill had been proven right. Appeasement had failed.

An old saying suggests that hindsight is 20/20; in other words, it is easy to look back at the past and judge people's decisions. Examine the map in Figure 6-15 and identify the territories Germany took over between 1935 and 1939. In 1938, when Germany took over the Sudetenland, would you have agreed with Neville Chamberlain's or Winston Churchill's response? What criteria would you have used to support your position?

They came first for the Communists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Communist.

Then they came for the Jews, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Jew.

Then they came for the trade unionists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a trade unionist.

Then they came for the Catholics, and I didn't speak up because I was a Protestant.

Then they came for me, and by that time, no one was left to speak up.

— Attributed to Martin Neimoeller, German Lutheran pastor and anti-Nazi activist who spent eight years in a German concentration camp

Figure 6-15 Expansion of Germany, 1933–1939

Failure of the League of Nations

By 1934, 58 countries, including Canada, Britain, and France, were members of the League of Nations, which had been created after World War I. League members agreed to help one another and to take action to maintain peace.

If one country invaded another, League members could

- order the aggressor to leave the other country's territory
- impose trade sanctions — penalties — on the aggressor
- use military force against the aggressor

But member countries were not required to provide troops to stop aggression — and the idea of joint military action soon became an empty threat.

When Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931, for example, China appealed to the League for help. The League condemned the invasion, but Japan responded in 1933 by resigning its membership. After that, League members could not agree on what action to take — and ended up doing nothing.

The dynamic leaders of the inter-war years — Hitler, Mussolini, the Japanese militarists — sneered at the League [of Nations], and ultimately turned their backs on it. Its chief supporters — Britain, France and the smaller democracies — were lukewarm and flaccid.

— Margaret MacMillan, Canadian historian, in Paris 1919

Ethiopia

After World War I, Italy suffered some of the same problems as Germany. Promising to restore Italy's power and prestige, Benito Mussolini, an extreme nationalist and a gifted speaker, was appointed prime minister in 1922 and soon established himself as a dictator. Like Hitler in Germany and Stalin in Russia, Mussolini ruled through fear. His policies included suppressing all opposition, instilling absolute loyalty, and conquering other territories.

Italy had fought on the side of the Allies in World War I, and Italian ultranationalists had expected to be rewarded. As a result, they were angry when the Treaty of Versailles failed to give Italy control of the independent African country of Ethiopia or the territory it claimed in Europe.

In October 1935, Mussolini ordered Italian forces to invade Ethiopia. Both Italy and Ethiopia were members of the League of Nations, and in June 1936, Haile Selassie, the Ethiopian emperor, travelled to League headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland, to plead for help.

In response, the League called for trade sanctions against Italy, but these failed when many countries, including the United States, ignored them. Britain and France were afraid to strictly enforce the sanctions because they feared driving Mussolini into an alliance with Germany and Japan. As a result, Ethiopia received no international support.

In the 1930s, Germany, Japan, and Italy expanded their territory in pursuit of ultranationalist goals while the world did little but watch. Do you think World War II could have been prevented if Canada and other countries had responded more forcefully?

Figure 6-16 In his 1936 speech to the League of Nations, Haile Selassie told members about the poison gas that Italian planes had sprayed on the "soldiers, women, children, cattle, rivers, lakes and pastures" of his country. How might the people who are the victims of a more powerful country's extreme nationalistic and expansionist foreign policies respond?

War as a Response to Ultranationalism

On September 1, 1939, Adolf Hitler launched an invasion of Poland — and Britain and France finally realized that appeasement was not working. On September 3, the two countries declared war on Germany. World War II had begun.

After a special session of Parliment, Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King announced on September 10 that Canada, too, was at war. "There is no home in Canada, no family and no individual whose fortunes and freedom are not bound up in the present struggle," King said in a radio address to all Canadians. "I appeal to my fellow Canadians to unite in a national effort to save from destruction all that makes life itself worth living and to preserve for future generations those liberties and institutions which others have bequeathed to us."

Examine King's words. How were they crafted to appeal to the emotions of Canadians and to inspire support for the war effort? Were they propaganda? Explain the reason for your judgment.

FYI

After World War I, the Canadian government had taken steps to make Canada more independent. By the time World War II broke out in 1939, Canada's foreign policy was no longer tied to that of Britain, as it had been in 1914. This meant that Canada was not automatically included in Britain's declaration of war on Germany.

By introducing propaganda and official censorship, tactics that are also used in dictatorships, was the Canadian government starting down the path to ultranationalism?

Total War

Canada's national interest now focused on the war effort. With the declaration of war, the tone of the language used to describe the country's involvement in international affairs also changed. The government began implying that Germany was the evil enemy, and Canadians were told that they were fighting for "the freedom of mankind."

Government policies focused on what King called "a total effort for a total war," in which "the security of each individual is bound up in the security of the nation as a whole." Under conditions of "total mobilization," Canadians were encouraged to support the war effort by joining the armed forces or by working in essential industries and other civilian activities.

By the end of September 1939, more than 58 000 Canadians had enlisted in the armed forces. Propaganda campaigns were launched to recruit people and persuade them to invest in war bonds, which helped finance the war effort. No employer was allowed to hire anyone who did not have a permit from an employment office, and employment could be restricted to specific locations or industries considered essential to the war effort.

Official censorship was also introduced to ensure that no essential information fell into the hands of the enemy. Government censors, for example, approved every speech broadcast on the CBC and examined stories published in newspapers and magazines. Military censors read all letters from members of the armed forces, as well as letters to soldiers in enemy prisoner-of-war camps. Anything that revealed too much was blacked out.

Figure 6-17 This poster, published by the Wartime Information Board, portrays a soldier with a machine gun, a male worker with a rivet gun, and a female worker with a hoe. What message was this poster designed to convey? Would you classify this poster as propaganda? Why or why not?

THE TORCH: BE YOURS TO HOLD IT HIGH!
IF YE BREAK FAITH WITH US WHO DIE
WE SHALL NOT SLEEP, THOUGH POPPIES GROW
IN FLANDERS FIELDS.

Figure 6-18 Recruitment posters like this were a common sight during World War II. What Canadian myths does this poster recall? What emotions do you think it was intended to arouse?

Conscription in Canada

The leaders of Germany, Italy, Japan, and the Soviet Union believed that **conscription** — compulsory military service — was in the national interest. They considered a strong military essential both for national defence and for carrying out their expansion plans.

But conscription was not limited to dictatorships. During World War I, the Canadian government, too, had introduced conscription. But this law had left the country bitterly divided. Many farmers, for example, had worried about what would happen to their farms if they were forced to enlist.

The fiercest opposition, however, came from Québec Francophones, who felt no strong connection to Britain — or to France. In addition, many Francophones were farmers who shared the concerns of farmers elsewhere. Francophones also faced a language barrier because English was the language of the army. Despite this, Francophones had volunteered in about the same ratio as anglophones. What Francophones objected to was forced military service, and violent protests had erupted in both Montréal and Québec City.

When World War II started, Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King was aware of the resentments caused by conscription during World War I. Still, he introduced a limited form of conscription, though he promised not to send conscripts overseas. They would be used only to defend Canada.

But as the war dragged on, Canadian casualties mounted, and not enough volunteers were enlisting to replace them. King faced a problem, and in 1942, he decided to hold a special vote to ask Canadians' permission to break his promise.

When the votes were tallied, 63 per cent of voters supported King, but this was not the whole story. As predicted, the country was sharply divided: 79 per cent of anglophones had favoured the plan, but 85 per cent of Francophones had opposed it.

CheckForward

You will read more about internments in Chapter 13.

Internment in Canada

During World War I, many Canadians became caught up in the racism and extreme nationalism of the period. Thousands of people of German and Ukranian background were interned as enemy aliens. During World War II, wartime propaganda depicted Germans, Italians, and Japanese people as the enemy — and Canadians of German, Italian, and Japanese background were often discriminated against because of this.

Figure 6-19 Though discrimination often made it hard for people from visible minority groups to join the armed forces, some Japanese Canadians, such as Shin Takahashi (left) and Toru Iwaasa (right), managed to serve in the Canadian army. What statement might these soldiers' actions make about their national loyalty?

Even before World War II, Canadians of Japanese descent had been subjected to discrimination, especially in British Columbia, where many had settled. They were, for example, not allowed to vote or to enter certain professions. After Japanese forces attacked Pearl Harbor and Hong Kong in December 1941, things became even worse.

In 1942, Japanese Canadians who lived within 160 kilometres of Canada's Pacific coast were rounded up and transported to internment camps in the British Columbia interior or to farms on the Prairies. Internment camps were like prisons. The government seized Japanese-owned homes, property, and businesses and sold them at bargain prices — then used the money from the sales to pay the costs of keeping people in the camps.

Is it fair to compare conscription and the treatment of Canadians of Japanese descent with Joseph Stalin's actions in the Soviet Union or Adolf Hitler's actions in Germany? Explain your reasoning.

FYI

No Japanese Canadian was ever charged with disloyalty to Canada, and in September 1988, the government apologized and offered compensation for the property seized during World War II.

MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Joy Kogawa
Shedding Light on a Shameful Story

MAKING A DIFFERENCE MAKING A DIFFERENCE MAKING A DIFFERENC

When Joy Kogawa published *Obasan* in 1981, the award-winning book took many Canadians by surprise. It was the first novel to focus on the internment and dispersal of Japanese Canadians during World War II, and it raised public awareness of the discrimination and injustices that had been suffered.

Although the book is a novel, not an autobiography, Kogawa had first-hand knowledge of many of the experiences of her characters. Born in Vancouver in 1935, she and her family were among the 22 000 Japanese Canadians interned during World War II.

In 1942, when Kogawa was six years old, her family home was confiscated, and she and her parents were forced to move to Slocan, a ghost town in the Rocky Mountains. There, Kogawa spent the war years. When the war ended, the family was forced to move again, this time to Coaldale, Alberta, where her mother, who had been a kindergarten teacher, and her father, an Anglican minister, worked as field labourers to survive.

Like Kogawa, Naomi, the narrator of *Obasan*, was a child when her family was exiled to a ghost town in the interior of British Columbia. After the war, the family was not allowed to return to the coast but was sent to live in southern Alberta.

Figure 6-20 After the publication of *Obasan*, poet and novelist Joy Kogawa became active in the movement seeking redress for Japanese Canadians. Since then, she has become an ardent Canadian nationalist who helped organize a national-unity march in Québec.

In the book, Naomi writes about what it was like when she and her family first learned that they would be forced out of their home.

> Our beautiful radios are gone. We had to give them up or suffer the humiliation of having them taken forcibly by the RCMP. Our cameras . . . all are confiscated. They can search our homes without warrant.
>
> But the greatest shock is this: we are being forced to leave. All of us. Not a single person of the Japanese race who lives in the "protected area" will escape . . .
>
> It breaks my heart to think of leaving this house and the little things that we've gathered through the years – all the irreplaceable mementos – our books and paintings – the azalea plants, my white iris . . .

Explorations

1. Joy Kogawa is a member of the Order of Canada, an award given by the governor general to recognize "outstanding achievement, dedication to the community, and service to the nation." If you had gone through Kogawa's experiences, would you have accepted this award? Explain the reasons for your response.
2. Is it fair to judge past actions from the perspective of today's knowledge and understanding? Explain the reasons for your response. List three criteria that could be used to judge past actions fairly.

Peacekeeping

In response to the destruction caused by World War II, the United Nations was formed to help keep peace in the world. At first, UN missions involved only observation, but in 1956, a crisis over the Suez Canal highlighted the need for a different approach.

The privately owned canal, which links the Red and Mediterranean seas, was built in the 19th century. In 1956, it was owned by a British and French company. The canal meant that goods — especially oil — could move between Asia and Europe more quickly and cheaply because ships no longer had to travel all the way around Africa. Ships paid fees for using the canal, and profits went to the company's shareholders.

In 1956, the Egyptian government seized the canal. The government believed that it was in Egypt's national interest for the Egyptian people, not the company's shareholders, to benefit from the canal.

Examine the map in Figure 6-21. Why do you think the Egyptian government might have felt entitled to take over the Suez Canal? Would you classify this action as nationalistic or ultranationalistic? Explain your response.

In response to the Egyptian government's action, Israeli, British, and French forces invaded the canal zone. The Soviet Union supported Egypt and threatened to attack Britain and France. Suddenly, the world was on the brink of another war.

At the time, Lester B. Pearson was Canada's minister of external affairs. Pearson proposed that the UN send an emergency force to keep peace in the canal zone while diplomats negotiated a resolution to the crisis.

The UN welcomed Pearson's idea, and within days, a UN force made up of soldiers from various countries, including Canada, was in the canal zone. The hostile countries withdrew and a peaceful solution was found.

This venture marked the start of international peacekeeping. For his work, Pearson was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1957.

Today, peacekeepers' responsibilities range from establishing and keeping peace to nation building, which helps countries in crisis make the transition to more democratic forms of government. Because Canadian governments believe that a peaceful world is in Canada's national interest, participating in peacekeeping missions is an important part of the country's foreign policy. By 2007, Canada had taken part in more than 60 peacekeeping missions, helping to implement 170 peace settlements. In many cases, these missions were responses to ultranationalist actions.

Web Connection

To find out more about recent UN peacekeeping missions and the part that Canada has played in these missions, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Should peacekeeping forces carry guns?

Figure 6-21 Suez Canal

THE VIEW FROM HERE

According to the United Nations, "Peace is the most essential product of nation building." But "nation building" — like the words "nation" and "nationalism" — can mean different things to different people. Here is what three thinkers have said about nation building today. Two of the thinkers refer specifically to Afghanistan, where NATO forces were part of a UN-approved mission.

Sima Wali, who fled Afghanistan under the Taliban regime, is president of Refugee Women in Development. Wali said the following in 2002, during a UN-sponsored discussion on support for Afghan women.

> [Women's] rights as more than half of the Afghan population are threatened when partial solutions, instead of long-term engagement toward nation building, are offered . . . Anything less than a commitment from the world community to restore the rights granted to Afghan women is tantamount to succumbing to the discounting of the needs and aspirations of 67 per cent of Afghan society . . . Afghan women have fought for human rights at grave risk to themselves and their families. Fiercely dedicated to a vision of dignity, safety, and freedom, their dream to participate in the rebuilding of their own shattered lives, and that of their nation, is dependent on your commitment to help make that dream a reality.

Karin von Hippel, co-director of the Post-Conflict Reconstruction Project of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C., wrote the following in 2000.

> The promotion of democracy is based on the assumption that democracies rarely go to war with each other and that an increase in the number of democratic states would therefore imply, and indeed encourage, a more secure and peaceful world.
>
> Nation building, which really means state building, has over the years signified an effort to construct a government that may or may not be democratic, but preferably is stable. Today, nation building normally implies the attempt to create democratic and secure states . . . A strategy for rebuilding and democratizing states after intervention must incorporate three fundamental elements. It needs to re-establish security, empower civil society and strengthen democratic institutions, and co-ordinate international efforts.

Michael Ignatieff, a Canadian member of Parliament and historian, wrote the following in 2002. Ignatieff was commenting on the mission of American forces in Afghanistan.

> America's entire war on terror is an exercise in imperialism. This may come as a shock to Americans, who don't like to think of their country as an empire. But what else can you call America's legions of soldiers, spooks and Special Forces straddling the globe? . . .
>
> Nation building has become the cure of choice for the epidemic of ethnic civil war and state failure that has convulsed the developing world since the end of the long imperial peace of the cold war. The nation-building caravan has moved from Cambodia in 1993, where the United Nations supervised an election; to Dili, in East Timor, where it tried to create a government for a country left devastated by the departing Indonesian militias. Wherever the traveling caravan of nation builders settles, it creates an instant boomtown, living on foreign money and hope. But boomtowns inevitably go bust.

Explorations

1. Which thinker's view do you agree with most strongly? Explain why.
2. Reread each of the quoted excerpts. From each, choose several words or phrases that indicate the speaker's or writer's level of concern. Explain each of your choices in a phrase or a sentence.
3. Return to the criteria you identified for judging past actions fairly (p. 153). Apply these criteria to the situation in Afghanistan to decide whether the nation-building mission there is an appropriate use of NATO resources and whether Canada should be participating in this mission.

1. The shift from nationalism to ultranationalism is often accompanied by an increase in propaganda. But when does information become propaganda?
   a) Return to the three criteria you created to judge whether a government statement is simply information required by citizens or propaganda designed to promote ultranationalism (p. 140). Share your criteria with a partner and, if necessary, revise them to take into account the ideas you discussed.
   b) On your own, think of a topic related to Canada's national interest (e.g., taxation or the role of Canadian troops in Afghanistan). Create two different statements on this topic — one that is strictly informational and another that is propaganda. Test each statement against your criteria.
   c) Share your statements with your partner. Using your criteria, decide which of your partner's statements is information and which is propaganda.
   d) With your partner, develop a statement that expresses your understanding of propaganda.
2. Prepare a persuasive argument of at least three paragraphs in response to this question: Should a government ever use propaganda to persuade citizens to support its idea of the national interest?

   In your opening paragraph, include a statement that sets out your understanding of propaganda. You developed this understanding in response to Question 1.

   Include the criteria you used to arrive at this understanding.

   Continue with specific examples to support your position, and conclude by clearly restating your position.
3. When people get to know "the other" through sharing art, literature, sports, ideas, and other aspects of their lives, cross-cultural understanding is promoted. When people understand and accept diversity, it becomes more difficult to spread ultranationalist propaganda.

   Some people say that geniuses are people whose creative efforts not only changed the world in which they worked but also made lasting contributions that extended beyond their own world and culture. The artist Pablo Picasso, for example, is sometimes described as a genius because his works changed the art world — the world in which he worked — and the way people viewed art. In addition, his influence is lasting — he died in 1973, yet his works continue to influence the world today. His influence also extended beyond his own culture — Picasso was Spanish, but his art was embraced by people the world over. People from many different cultures could communicate more effectively through a shared understanding of his art.

   From this chapter, select one person who meets the criteria expressed by this understanding of genius. Explain this person's ideas, how this person changed the world in which she or he worked, and how this person made lasting contributions that extended beyond his or her own culture. When making your selection, remind yourself that not all geniuses are people who can be admired.
4. Return to the map of the Soviet Union in Figure 6-1 (p. 136). Why do you suppose the Soviet Union was set up as a union of socialist republics rather than as a single country that erased the borders between the republics?

   In your response, include ideas relating to ultranationalism.

5. Read "What Do I Remember of the Evacuation" by Joy Kogawa.
   a) In a short paragraph, tell the story related in Kogawa's poem in your own words.
   b) Kogawa's poem presents several competing views — between ages, between loyalties, between outcomes, and between points of view. List three of these conflicts. Explain them in terms of nationalist and ultranationalist ideologies.
   c) Many elements of both information and propaganda appear in this poem. Using the criteria you developed earlier, decide whether this poem is simply a remembrance of things past or a statement of propaganda — or both. Explain your conclusions.
   d) Using this poem as the basis of your answer, state the extent to which nationalism can lead to ultranationalism.

What Do I Remember of the Evacuation

Joy Kogawa

What do I remember of the evacuation?
I remember my father telling Tim and me
About the mountains and the train
And the excitement of going on a trip.
What do I remember of the evacuation?
I remember my mother wrapping
A blanket around me and my
Pretending to fall asleep so she would be happy
Though I was so excited I couldn't sleep
(I hear there were people herded
Into the Hastings Park like cattle
Families were made to move in two hours
Abandoning everything, leaving pets
And possessions at gun point.
I hear families were broken up
Men were forced to work. I heard
It whispered late at night
That there was suffering) and
I missed my dolls.
What do I remember of the evacuation?
I remember Miss Foster and Miss Tucker
Who still live in Vancouver
And who did what they could
And loved the children and who gave me
A puzzle to play with on the train.
And I remember the mountains and I was
Six years old and I swear I saw a giant
Gulliver of Gulliver's Travels scanning the horizon
And when I told my mother she believed it too
And I remember how careful my parents were
Not to bruise us with bitterness
And I remember the puzzle of Lorraine Life
Who said "Don't insult me" when I
Proudly wrote my name in Japanese
And Tim flew the Union Jack
When the war was over but Lorraine
And her friends spat on us anyway
And I prayed to God who loves
All the children in his sight
That I might be white.

Think about Your Challenge

At this point, you should have decided on the format of your investigative report on a nationalist movement. You should also have started filling in the chart (see p. 113) you are keeping to help plan your report.

Return to page 112 and review the elements required to complete your report successfully. These include the back story about the movement, the people involved, the movement's current status, and predictions about whether and how this movement is likely to affect people in the future. Ask a partner or your teacher for feedback on your ideas and work so far. Adjust your material in light of the feedback you receive.